

Message Text

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APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

EUR:AAHARTMAN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 246944

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CY, TU, UKPFOR

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S LETTER TO CALLAGHAN RE CYPRUS

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY
TO FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN.

2. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR JIM: I APPRECIATED HAVING THE REPORT
ON YOUR AMBASSADOR'S CONVERSATION WITH CAGLAYANGIL IN
ANKARA FOLLOWING THE TURKISH SENATE ELECTIONS, AND I WANT
YOU TO KNOW WHAT PARALLEL STEPS WE ARE TAKING.

3. AS YOU KNOW, FOLLOWING THE PARTIAL LIFTING OF THE
TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO THE PRESIDENT PLEDGED A MAJOR EFFORT
IN SUPPORT OF CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. FOR THE SAME REASONS
THAT DETERMINED THE TIMING OF YOUR APPROACH, WE WAITED
UNTIL AFTER THE TURKISH ELECTIONS TO SEND IN OUR AMBASSADOR
IN ANKARA, BILL MACOMBER, TO TALK TO CAGLAYANGIL AND
DEMIREL. WHEN HE SAW CAGLAYANGIL ON OCTOBER 13, ELECTION
RETURNS WERE STILL COMING IN, BUT IT WAS ALREADY APPARENT

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THAT DEMIREL GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN SUFFICIENTLY STRENGTHENED

TO GIVE IT SOME ROOM TO MANEUVER (BY TURKISH STANDARDS)
BOTH ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE AND ON THE REACTIVATION OF OUR
COMMON DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS IN TURKEY.

4. REGARDING CYPRUS, CAGLAYANGIL DID NOT GO BEYOND SAYING
THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT COULD NOW SHOW SOME FLEXIBILITY
WHICH WOULD BEGIN WITH AGREEMENT TO RESUME INTERCOMMUNAL
TALKS. HE INDICATED THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE
MAKING DECISIONS IN THIS REGARD THE FOLLOWING WEEK.

5. ON OCTOBER 15 MACOMBER MET WITH DEMIREL AND GAVE HIM
A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT WHICH EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE
OF MOVEMENT TOWARD A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT AND THE EARLY RE-
ACTIVATION OF COMMON DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS IN TURKEY.
MACOMBER EXPANDED ON THESE THEMES, AND FORCEFULLY ARGUED
THE ADVANTAGES OF MOVEMENT ON CYPRUS IN THE RELAXED POST-
EMBARGO ATMOSPHERE RATHER THAN WAITING UNTIL PRESSURES
BUILD UP AGAIN IN CONGRESS SIX WEEKS HENCE. DEMIREL WAS,
AS USUAL, LESS RESPONSIVE THAN CAGLAYANGIL AND LIMITED
HIMSELF TO PROMISING TO REVIEW OUR ARGUMENTS CAREFULLY AND
DISCUSS THEM WITH OTHERS WHO WILL TAKE PART IN THE DECISION
MAKING PROCESS AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING
OCTOBER 20 AND A CABINET MEETING SEVERAL DAYS LATER. HE
INDICATED HE WOULD BE ABLE TO REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S
MESSAGE AFTER THOSE MEETINGS.

6. WITH REGARD TO OUR COMMON DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS, BOTH
CAGLAYANGIL AND DEMIREL MADE IT CLEAR THEY WOULD FIND IT
POLITICALLY DIFFICULT TO REACTIVATE OUR EQUIPMENT BEFORE A
NEW DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT HAS BEEN NEGOTIATED.
IT IS LIKELY THAT THEY ARE NOW SAMPLING TURKISH OPINION
AND JUDGING THE POLITICAL COST OF "BEING SOFT ON THE
AMERICANS."

7. I BELIEVE THAT BOTH DEMIREL AND CAGLAYANGIL ARE AWARE
THAT THE NEXT FEW WEEKS WILL REQUIRE THEM TO MAKE DECISIONS
THAT WILL HAVE FAR REACHING CONSEQUENCES, AND THEY KNOW
WHAT WE THINK SHOULD BE DONE. AFTER THE RESULTS ARE IN
FROM THE TURKISH NSC AND CABINET MEETINGS WE
WILL WANT TO CONSIDER WHAT ADDITIONAL INITIATIVES MIGHT
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BE USEFUL. I SUGGEST WE CONTINUE TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION
AND IDEAS ON THIS SUBJECT. WARM REGARDS, HENRY A.
KISSINGER. END OF TEXT. KISSINGER

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